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5 OCT 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR:

: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM:

Chier, Evaluation and Plans Staff

SUBJECT:

Approval of OPACT QRPLUMB for FY 1987

1. Description: OPACT QRPLUMB, a proprietary in New York, is a Ukrainian publishing and distribution corporation with affiliates in Paris, London and Munich. It publishes a Ukrainian-language monthly political-literary magazine, a Russian-language socio-political journal, bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets, and books for infiltration into the Soviet Ukraine. Its purpose is to provide intellectual and moral support to Ukrainians seeking social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system, and to encourage liberalization among the Ukrainian population. QRPLUMB is an NSPG program.

2. <u>Authority</u>: This activity is authorized under the Presidential Finding of 7 June 1978, supports Directorate for Operations Objective T, and is in compliance with Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. It has been regularly reported to the appropriate committees of Congress.

EPS Comments: QRPLUMB continued its publishing 3. activities, but in lesser volume due to budgetary constraints. Its working relationship with the Polish underground resulted in numerous articles printed in Poland based on QRPLUMB material and distributed from there into the Ukraine. It also financed the translation into Polish and publication in Poland of a history of the Ukraine. QRPLUMB reacted very quickly to the Chernobyl accident, establishing telephonic contacts with residents of Kiev to monitor local reactions and to provide them information. In addition, it put out a special information bulletin on Chernobyl and radiation effects which was infiltrated within weeks of the event. QRPLUMB continued to expand established contacts with other East European and Baltic emigre groups to promote closer working relationships on human rights and the Chernobyl accident. Its video cassette project finally got underway with the infiltration via Poland

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of Harvest of Despair, a poignant film about famine in the Ukraine during the 1930's. These infiltration efforts have been increasing steadily with the selection of appropriate video films and additional duplicating capability with the cooperation of the Polish underground.

The success of this activity is measured by the feedback it receives from recipients and the frequent attacks from the Soviet/Ukrainian media. Nevertheless, QRPLUMB is not without potential CI problems, not all of which are Soviet-related. The Nazi past of the retired former principal agent, QRPLUMB/2, is in a dormant state as long as the Department of Justice does not press further its investigation of QRPLUMB/2 in its quest to expose the past of former Nazi criminals. This investigation, if pressed, could jeopardize Agency equities with QRPLUMB. The current principal agent, QRPLUMB/57, had polygraph problems on the question of official funds which bordered on financial impropriety. This question was resolved amicably when QRPLUMB/57 reimbursed the funds in question. QRPLUMB/57 has continued to assist the FBI and FR/New York as an access agent to the Chinese target. The Chinese connection has now been severed following an attempt by the Chinese to recruit him to work against the Soviets.

As with any activity of this type the CI aspects should be monitored closely, especially its contacts with Polish underground groups infiltrating QRPLUMB material into the Soviet Union. An issue which has not been resolved is returning QRPLUMB to the status of a controlled subsidy because of the spill-over effect of QRPLUMB activities in the U.S. PPS is to provide an interim report on the status of this conversion to CCS via EPS by 1 November 1987.

4. EPS Recommendations: In view of its potential to influence a specific segment of the Soviet population, EPS recommends approval of OPACT QRPLUMB in the \$_____mount requested with the understanding that PPS will provide the report on the status of the conversion.

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APPROVAL - FY-87 OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY - QRPLUMB

DESCRIPTION AND PURPOSE

QRPLUMB, a proprietary, is a New York-based Ukrainian publishing and distribution corporation with affiliates in Munich, London and Paris. QRPLUMB publishes a Ukrainian-language monthly political-literary magazine, a Russian-language socio-political quarterly journal, bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets, and books for infiltration into and clandestine distribution within the Soviet Ukraine. The main purpose of the QRPLUMB Activity is to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainians who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalization among.various strata of the Ukrainian population.

AUTHORIZATION

This operational Activity supports Directorate for Operations Objective T and is in compliance with Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. It is covered by a Presidential Finding dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported regularly to the appropriate committees of Congress.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

--In FY-86, QRPLUMB marked 25 years of publishing the Ukrainian language <u>Suchasnist</u> journal with a special edition of articles from the first 25 years. Owing to budgetary constraints, the Russian language quarterly <u>Forum</u> was cut back to two issues per year. They continued publishing the irregular information bulletins and the monthly English language <u>Soviet</u> Oationality Survey. In addition to the journals and bulletins, they published the following books:

"The Captive Mind" by Czeslaw Milosz "Memoirs" by Ivan Koshelivetz, former <u>Suchasnist</u> editor "Afghanistan in Flames", a collection of documents on opposition to the war inside Soviet Union.

"Famine in Ukraine 1932-33", a collection of essays."

A book of poetry by the dissident poet Vasyl Stus, who died in the GULAC in 1986.

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Approval - FY-87 Operational Activity - QRPLUMB

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--QRPLUMB continued its working relationship with elements of the Polish underground, which resulted in numerous articles printed in Poland based on <u>Suchasnist</u> materials. In addition, one of the underground groups printed two issues of the bulletin <u>Samostiynist</u>, which was edited by QRPLUMB in the West, printed in Poland and distributed from there inside the Ukraine. QRPLUMB also financed the translation into Polish and publication in Poland of a history of Ukraine. In response to requests from Poland, QRPLUMB published its <u>Suchasnist</u> journal in Polish, with the first edition of 1,400 distributed inside Poland. The Nov 1986 Kultura, a Paris-based Polish journal, included a letter from a Warsaw resident commenting on the high quality of the Polish edition of <u>Suchasnist</u>.

--QRPLUMB continued to expand established contacts with other East European, as well as Baltic emigre groups, in order to promote closer working relationships on human rights issues and other areas of common concern, such as the Chernobyl accident.

--QRPLUMB reacted very quickly to the Chernobyl accident, establishing telephonic contacts with residents of Kiev in order to monitor local reactions and provide information. In addition, they put out a special information bulletin on Chernobyl and radiation effects which was infiltrated inside within weeks of the event. They also published a special edition of <u>Soviet Nationality Survey</u> of 1,000 copies dealing with Chernobyl, aimed at Third world journalists and East European libraries.

--The video project got under way with the infiltration of a number of cassettes of the film, <u>The Harvest of Despair</u>, which were to be duplicated by video equipment infiltrated by QRPLUMB into the Lublin area of Poland.

--There is abundant evidence of QRPLUMB publications reaching target audiences. The following examples serve to give the flavor of some of the comments gleaned from Soviet Ukrainian press:

Philosofka Dumka, #4, 1986, devoted a whole article to the rebuttal of a Suchasnist article critical of it.

Izvestia and Radio Kiev pressed attacks on QRPLUMB in connection with the adverse publicity given QRPLUMB/2 in Western press.

Ukrainsky Istorichny Zhournal mentioned <u>Suchasnist</u> and one of QRPLUMB books in attacking Western views on collectivization.

The Polish party newspaper, <u>Tribuna Ludu</u>, 13 June 1986 issue attacked the Polish language version of Suchasnist.

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--There are also indications of long-term effect on Ukrainians by QRPLUMB publications. A poem published by Ukrainian poet Roman Lyubkivsky in June 1986, called upon the "artistic experts" in the USSR to allow Ukrainians to become acquainted with the works of emigre artists, such as Archipenko, Hnizdovsky, etc. The latter was very closely associated with QRPLUMB, for whom he designed most of the covers for its publications. He also had a book of his woodcuts published by QRPLUMB.

PLANS

--A proposal to convert QRPLUMB back to a controlled subsidy is still pending. When this is done, formal ownership will revert to the three witting leaders of the organization under the same provisions as prevailed prior to 1985. As in the past, appropriate safeguards will be included and we anticipate no problems of a security, cover or administrative nature.

--QRPLUMB plans to continue publishing the journals <u>Suchasnist</u> and <u>Forum</u>, and expand their infiltration into the Soviet Union. They will also continue their Polish language efforts, as well as furthering their cooperation with the Polish underground to facilitate infiltration of printed and video materials into the Ukraine. Efforts are also under way to explore new avenues of infiltration, one of them through Yugoslavia.

--With the increased emphasis on audio/video cassette distribution/infiltration into the Soviet Union, QRPLUMB is planning to increase its efforts, both in providing additional duplicating capability and a selection of appropriate video films.

--Greater emphasis will be placed on verifying that QRPLUMB materials are reaching their target audiences, as well as ascertaining their effect on the target audiences.

PROBLEMS

--Certain problems, not of a CI or security nature, arose during a routine SGSWIRL of QRPLUMB/57 in FY-85. These issues have been resolved in that they are not considered to impact negatively on QRPLUMB or its operations. (As QRPLUMB/57 is a U.S. citizen, further details on this matter are kept in a separate file. Information can be obtained from C/PPS or DC/PPS/SE0.)

Approval - FY-87 Operational Activity - QRPLUMB

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--For some years the QRPLUMB organization and QRPLUMB/57 have maintained contacts with officials of the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC). These relationships have been based on the legitimate function of QRPLUMB as an accepted authority on Soviet nationalities. The Chinese have built on this relationship to invite QRPLUMB/57 to China and to use him to assist in placing Chinese nationals as students in the U.S. This activity is being closely monitored for exploitation by EA/China Operations and by FR/NY. Together with EA/CO and FR Division, we are reviewing this aspect of QRPLUMB/57's activity to make certain that it does not jeopardize the greater equity of the QRPLUMB covert action instrumentality.

ASSETS AND MECHANISMS

--QRPLUMB/57 - witting, President of the proprietary. P/57 was granted an OA on 5 July 1983. P/57 was polygraphed during FY 1985, the results of which have been discussed previously. P/57 receives a salary of \$37,000 per annum from QRPLUMB. As a full-time proprietary hire, he receives retirement and health/life insurance. There are no other special benefits.

--QRPLUMB/75 - witting, Treasurer. P/75 was granted a CSA on 10 September 1985. P/75's annual salary of 30,000 is paid by the proprietary. P/75 receives retirement and health/life insurance. There are no other special benefits.

--QRPLUMB/103 - witting, Vice President. He was granted a CSA on 20 June 1985. P/103'3 annual salary of \$25,000 is paid by the proprietary. He receives retirement and health/life insurance. There are no other special benefits.

--There are 15 unwitting proprietary hires who work either full or part-time in New York, and 7 who work in London and Munich. All full-time employees receive retirement and health/life insurance benefits. These benefits are provided in accordance with the Administrative Plan. The New York based unwitting proprietary hires have either CSAs or Proprietary Approvals, or are in the process of being cleared. The European based employees are traced for derogatory information when they are hired. All unwitting employees believe they are working for the research/publishing company.

COVER/SECURITY

There were no cover problems during FY-86.

Approval - FY-87 Operational Activity - QRPLUMB

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FUNDING

Sterile or cover fund bank transfers are made to the QRPLUMB bank account.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

This OPACT requests funding approval in the amount of FY-1987. FY-1987 funds are available in the PPS budget in the amount of (FAN 28-4544). FY-1988 funds are requested in the amount of (same FAN).

ACCOUNTABILITY

This OPACT contains proprietary operational funds and they will be accounted for in accordance with the Administrative Plan, approved on 4 March 1985. C/PPS affirms that the previously approved provisions of the Administrative Plan remain adequate and valid.

Approval - FY 87 Operational Activity - QRPLUMB

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BUDGET

OPACT Budget Expenses	<u>FY 86</u>	<u>FY 87</u>	FY 88
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Proprietary Budget			
Opening Cash on Hand	5,000	5,000	4,000
Income: Agency Funding Other - Sales/Subsc.	C J	C] 65,000	ر ح 65,000
Total Income:	()	C I	$\langle \rangle$
Total Operating Budget	()	()	· · ·
Expenses:			
Fixed:			
Salaries & Benefits New York Office	280,000 135,000	284,000 145,000	300,000 150,000
S/T Fixed Expenses	415,000	429,000	450,000
Operating:		· · · · · · ·	
Publishing Costs Microfilm/Material	195,000	190,000 5,000	200,000 5,000
Purchase Books/Period		5,000	7,000
Distribution Costs	105,000	125,000	125,000
Munich Office	100,000	105,000	110,000
London Office	65,000	85,000	100,000
Research/Contact Ops	45,000	70,000	60,000
Ops Travel/Entertain.	15,000	25,000	25,000
S/T Operating Expenses	535,000	610,000	632,000
Total Expenses:	950,000	1,039,000	1,082,000
Closing Cash on Hand	$\langle \rangle$	()	ć)

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